Volume LXXXV CHICAGO, May 27, 1920 Number 13

UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

Peace

Grasses and Sand

I saw blown grasses and white sand today!
On either hand blown grasses, rain-freshen'd,
And underneath, the samite peace of sand.

God seemed no further than my hand might reach;
And I, who long had trod my city ways,
Came face to face with the passion of grass and sand:

The passion of all of the laboring years at last,
The stable earth with its miracled leaf and bloom,
And its syllabled speech to me, "Hold fast! hope hard!"

Poetry —*Alfred Battle Bealle*

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

ESTABLISHED 1875

$3.00 PER ANNUM.

With THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, THE CONGRESS OF RELIGIONS, and all other organizations and individuals seeking to widen fellowship and to realize the Brotherhood of the Spirit unrimmed by creed, form or sectarian prejudices

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE
Pamphlet Mission
FOR
FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER
IN
RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:
Robert Collyer, Chicago. Wm. C. Gannett, St. Paul.
Jenkin Ll. Jones, Janesville. C. W. Wendte, Cincinnati.
J. C. Learned, St. Louis.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

Frances L. Roberts, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
J. T. Sunderland, 65 Washington St., Chicago, } Editors of
Geo. W. Cooke, Grand Haven, Mich., - } "Notes and News."

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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, CHICAGO, ILL.
"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879."

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXV THURSDAY, MAY 27, 1920 Number 13

THE CHILDREN'S GIFT.

The children of the desert plain
May bring a Lincoln in their train,
And Michelangelo may be
Excelled by one we yet shall see.

Perhaps the dream that Wagner knew
May rise again from where the blue
Ohio's wide expanse divides
The North and South with changeless tides.

Or Shakespeare's genius may be found
Where dark, greed-ridden slums surround;
And Paganini's vibrant string
May throb again, a living thing.

I know no matter what the curse
Laid on the race by power of purse
There is that spark within the heart
Of little children that is Art!

James Waldo Fawcett.

Special Notice: On May 19th, Rev. John Haynes Holmes underwent an operation in a New York hospital. This operation was simple and not in any way dangerous, but involves a somewhat prolonged period of convalescence. During this period, Mr. Holmes will be unable to continue his regular editorial contributions to Unity. As soon as his recovery of strength is reasonably complete, he will resume his duties. Meanwhile, Mr. Neilson will write as usual, and various Editorial Contributors have promised to lend a hand.

The impartial historian of the future . . . will pronounce this failure of Paris to be the greatest single act of perfidy that history records.

No indictment of the work of the Peace Conference could be more terrible than this. It condemns this work not merely because of its failure, but because of its shameful moral character. It asserts that the representatives of England, France and America betrayed Germany and the world by the most terrible act of "perfidy" that the world has ever seen. And who is it that passes such judgment? Not the German or pro-German, not the Socialist, not the Bolshevist, no wild radical eaten up with ignorance and prejudice! It is none other than Mr. J. A. Hobson, the Englishman, known and honored everywhere by men of learning as one of the most trustworthy economic and political students of our day! Every hour that passes adds to the evidence at hand as to the meaning of what was done at Paris. Those who had the courage and vision to denounce the Peace Treaty at the start, are abundantly vindicated. And now what remains to be done? To enforce this wretched Treaty, until civilization is indeed ruined beyond all repair; or to rewrite it in a new assembly of the nations, that the distracted world may be given order, the ills of men healing, and the rising generation of the race some promise of enduring peace? There can be no assurance that modern civilization can be saved, until statesmen have agreed to scrap the Covenant and Peace Treaty, and begin again in greater humility and to nobler ends.

The consequences of the war continue to mount in horror with every report that comes to us from Europe. The latest and perhaps most terrible to date, is that given by Henry P. Davison, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies. In his address on May 16 last, before the General Conference of Methodist Churches, he declared that "one of the most terrible tragedies in the history of the human race is being enacted within the broad belt of territory lying between the Baltic, Black and Adriatic Seas." In this vast country, inhabited by millions of people, once the center of civilization and culture, out-and-out barbarism in the last stages of disintegration is now established.

"In these war-ravaged lands," says Mr. Davison, "civilization has broken down. Disease, bereavement and suffering are present in practically every household. . . . Men, women and children are dying by thousands, and over vast areas there are to be found neither medical appliances nor medical skill sufficient to cope with the devastating plagues."

It is little wonder that Mr. Davison pleads for an appropriation by Congress of $500,000,000 to relieve this unspeakable distress. But what does this really mean but locking the barn after the horse is stolen? In the face of such horrors present in countries like Poland, Roumania, Montenegro and Serbia, which were among the victors in the late War, we find ourselves recurring to the old, old question as to what imaginable good this War accomplished? Could Europe, from either the material or moral point of view, have been worse off if she had refused to fight Germany, than she is today? Our own conviction, of course, is clear —that the policy of non-resistance would have broken German aggression and saved Europe from the indescribable misery which we now call victory.

No more startling news has come across the Atlantic cables since the Armistice than the announcement, on May 11 last, that the dissolution of the Confederation of Labor, in France, as "inimical to the national defense," had been ordered by the Council of Ministers as a direct result of prevailing revolutionary

strikes. No such drastic action as this against organized labor has been taken anywhere in the world since the failure of Count Bismarck's attack upon the German Socialists. It is evident that the situation in France is much more threatening than the meager press reports have given us to understand. Only a government distrustful of its own strength and fearful of revolution, could resort to such a mad device of tyranny as this of dissolving the Confederation. Such an event in the past has been an almost certain sign that revolution is at hand. Whether this is actually the case in France cannot now be said, but this one fact gives strong reason for believing that convulsive events are at hand. "In the next four years," said a distinguished American to us a few days ago, "Bolshevism will have swept through all of Europe to the Atlantic seaboard." We wondered at that time if this were a sound prophecy, and are now feeling, in view of this news from Paris, that it is perhaps sounder than we had dared to suppose.

We heard much during the War of the enormous indemnities levied on Belgian cities and towns, in punishments for offenses by their German conquerors. Mr. Whitlock makes much of this abomination in his great book, "Belgium"; but he says none too much, for there are few iniquities greater than that of inventing all kinds of arbitrary crimes, and then penalizing people heavily for being guilty of them. It was and is a mistake, however, to believe that this indemnity atrocity is specifically German in character. What was done in Belgium is only what has been done since men first began to visit armed oppression upon their neighbors, and what will be done in all probability so long as violence endures upon the earth. Here for example comes the word out of India that the British government has levied an indemnity of $1,100,000 on the people of Amritsar because of the "disturbances" there on April 10, 1919, which were suppressed with such brutality by Gen. Dyer. A similar indemnity of $700,000 has also been levied, according to this same report, on the town of Kasur. The English populace has claimed these indemnities, we are told, not only because of "the shock of fear" occasioned by the uprising, "but also because of the loss in business." Amritsar has a population of 150,000, and Kasur of 60,000, which means that the indemnity in the former city amounts to $7.35 per capita, and in the latter to $11.60 per capita. The average annual income of an Indian amounts to $10. Militarists after all are much the same in all nations the world around.

At just the time when the country was congratulating itself that the militarists in Congress had been beaten by the defeat of the universal military training bill, it has been discovered that another and more serious peril is before us. In the army bill, now awaiting final passage, provision has been made for the extension into peace time of the Conscription Act. Section 69 of this bill provides that "in a national emergency all male citizens . . . between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years . . . shall be subject to immediate military and naval service." Section 70 provides that such persons shall be classified so as to recruit a deferred class to serve "in occupations of importance in the maintenance of the national interests during the emergency." Section 71 provides that all persons must register for examination for service when the President requires such registration. It is difficult to describe in any language reasonably temperate, such outrageous provisions as these. "A national emergency" may mean a foreign war in Asia or the South Seas, entered into without any preliminary declaration, like the war in Russia; or it may mean a great strike at home. In either case, all citizens are to be liable to conscription, to serve as the President and Congress may dictate, without any action on their own part whatsoever. This is tyranny—it is militarism of the worst and vilest kind! And yet, until recently, no knowledge of these provisions had been given to the public; and not one word of debate has yet been had. It is certain that the passage of the army bill will be delayed by the few senators and representatives who understand the situation; but there is real danger that the bill may pass unless there is such an uprising of indignant public sentiment as killed universal military training, and the peace-time sedition acts. Let every reader of UNITY write his senators and representatives at once protesting against sections 69, 70 and 71, and calling for their elimination.

If Mr. Palmer is to continue much longer his mad career, would it not be well for him to prepare an official list of seditious literature, for the guidance and instruction of his numerous agents? Some of the writings which should go upon such a proscribed list, possession or reading of which must be accepted as *prima facie* evidence of treason, are obvious:

The Old Testament (see passages in Isaiah, Jeremiah and the minor prophets).
The New Testament (see passages in the Gospels, the Pauline epistles, St. James and Revelation).
The Church Fathers (see passages on war, military service and obedience to the state).
The Journal of George Fox (see passages on non-resistance).
An Address to Protestants, by William Penn.
The Declaration of Independence (see the whole thing).
The Constitution of the United States (see first ten amendments).
The First Inaugural Address of Abraham Lincoln (see closing paragraphs).
The Duty of Civil Disobedience, by Henry David Thoreau.
The True Grandeur of Nations, by Charles Summer.
Bethink Yourselves, by Leo Tolstoi.
The New Freedom, by Woodrow Wilson.

These titles are only a beginning of what such a list should be. Let it be made complete! Then let it be solemnly enacted by Congress, or perhaps simply decreed by Alexander Mitchell Palmer, that anybody guilty of owning such documents, or reading them, will be arrested, imprisoned, deported, hanged, electrocuted, drawn and quartered, boiled in oil and buried alive. We are sure that if this were done, the nation would be saved!

The stupendous scandal of the Inter-church World Movement is becoming more stupendous every day. The failure of the big "Drive," which netted less than one-half of the more than $300,000,000 desired, has led to a startling revelation of the "frenzied finance" which this organization has been practicing in recent months. An original guarantee fund of $7,500,000 has been squandered at the rate of $1,000,000 a month, and the leaders of the movement are now asking for a special and immediate fund of $10,000,000 to tide them over the existing emergency. Those of us who live in New York and have seen something of the Inter-church World Movement at first hand, can testify as to the wanton extravagance which has characterized its work. Acres and acres of floor space in the most expensive buildings, thousands of employes in the home office and on the road, elaborate office equipment, lavish funds for traveling expenses, salaries, etc., are some of the conspicuous things which have been seen by those who have had eyes to see. Such an orgy, even when conducted in the name of the lowly Nazarene, was certain to lead sooner or later to collapse. It is refreshing to see that some of the churches which have been inveigled into this scandalous undertaking are now rebelling at its excesses. The St. Louis Presbytery has called a halt and asked for an investigation. The Seattle Presbytery declares that "the expenditures of the Movement are excessive, needless and destructive," and recommends that the Presbyterian Church withdraw from the organization. The summer months will probably see the passing, in disgrace and shame, of the most elaborate organization of Christian camouflage that the world has ever seen.

In an age when churches and church organizations seem more reactionary than ever, it is comforting to note the progressive spirit manifested by the Young Women's Christian Association, at its recent convention in Cleveland, Ohio. It is evident that brave, far-seeing and humane leaders, most of them undoubtedly members of the rising generation, have gained control of this organization and are resolved to make it useful in the highest and truest sense of the word "Christian." Two remarkable achievements were recorded at this convention. First, conditions of membership were so amended as to make it possible for girls who were not yet church members to join the Association, on the simple personal declaration that "It is my purpose to live as a true follower of the Lord Jesus Christ." This marks a definite shift from the theological to the spiritual conception of Christianity, and is therefore to be thankfully welcomed. Secondly, the Association committed itself definitely to the social mission of Christianity, adopting the admirable social platform of the Federation of Churches, and committing the body to a policy of active work in the field of industrial and social legislation. It is a pity that this program, adopted by a triumphant vote of the delegates, encountered the opposition of so sincere and kindly a person as Mrs. Helen Gould Shepherd. Her withdrawal from the Association is to be deplored; but the Association is to be congratulated on standing firm when asked to choose between persons and principles.

Has Dr. Percy Stickney Grant declared war on the Episcopal Church? Time will undoubtedly tell! Meanwhile it is certain that the sermon preached in the Church of the Ascension on Sunday, May 16th, has brought such a shock to that venerable ecclesiastical body as it has not received since the days of Dr. Crapsey. Dr. Grant, in his endeavors to humanize the Episcopal Church, to rid it of its superstitions and shams, to bring it into useful contact with pressing problems of social need, has been rudely interfered with by narrow churchmen, both lay and clerical, for whom Bishop Burch has served as a convenient mouthpiece. Now, after an interval undoubtedly used for careful consideration of the whole problem, Dr. Grant has evidently decided to fling down the gauntlet. Preaching on the question "Will the Episcopal Church Split in Two?" he asserted that the bishops of the Church are constantly "reaching for more authority"; and then, after a recital of the failure of the Church to answer the spiritual challenge of the times, he stated his fear that

> Through the assertion of Episcopal authority, which so narrows and hampers the growth of the Church, the variety of its expression and the energy of its active ministry, the more vigorous of our clergy will organize their parishes into community churches, or will leave the Protestant Episcopal Church and establish such churches.

It is evident from Dr. Grant's whole life, and also from his present attitude, that he is a loyal churchman and would prefer to do his work inside the church. But it is also evident, from abundant testimony of word and work, that Dr. Grant understands the nature of the Christian gospel, the social obligations of a Christian minister, the duty of the Christian church as a servant of human need, and that he has the courage of a crusader in his fidelity to faith. If called upon to choose between Bishop Burch and Jesus Christ, there will be no question as to what he will do. The "bloody angle" of religious progress shifts from time to time. Just at this moment it is located in the pulpit of the Church of the Ascension.

Dr. John Roach Straton, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, New York, gives a new argument for belief in hell and eternal punishment of the wicked. We are tempted to assume sometimes that there is nobody left who believes in hell any more, but here is a conspicuous minister in a conspicuous pulpit in the first city of the land, who affirms the reality of a blazing underworld. And his argument, or one of them at least, is novel!

"A moment's clear thinking will convince any reasonable mind," says Dr. Straton, "that it is a rational and necessary truth which Jesus proclaimed in his teaching about hell. You believe that crime ought to be punished, and that there ought to be jails and penitentiaries in this world. Will you be so foolish, then, to think that God Almighty ought to be less firm, less wise and less just than earthly rulers?"

We have long thought of jails and penitentiaries as evidences of man's stupidity and folly, but never as analogies of God's wisdom. We have always thought of these penal institutions as demonstrations of hell in this life, but not necessarily of hell in the life that is to come. Dr. Straton has given us a new and, we confess, rather terrible idea. For if the ways of God to men, in either the present or the future, are to be tested and approved on the basis of the ways of men to one another, we have the prospect of a divine being even more forbidding than that conceived by Calvin. If this be our theological method, what is to save us all from becoming atheists?

Industry and the Strike Evil

PART II.

Neither Socialism nor Syndicalism as they have been tried by governments before and during the War can have the slightest effect upon the real industrial situation. Presumably we have had more experiments in Socialism during the War than labor will wish to see in a generation or two. The theorists have had a pretty serious lesson in the practice of Socialism. State control of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, though governments did not go so far as to adopt the socialists' distributive proposals, has taught labor that the most specifically inclined type of politician can under the stress of war easily assume as autocratic and tyrannical a disposition as the superman of state socialism. Direct action, too, has not brought labor any nearer the goal of the syndicalist. The shop steward movement, from which so much was expected by shrewd students of industrial affairs, seems to have faded away. In England all the insurrectionary movements within the unions have, apparently, been absorbed by the centralized machine.

Is there to be repeated in this country the experience through which British trade unionists have passed in the last eighteen months, to say nothing of what took place before the War? Is the present strike a manifestation of the syndicalistic spirit which has been growing here within the unions for several years? Are we to regard this as a protest against "the Tory high-mindedness of the labor bureaucracy, against the reactionaries at headquarters?" What does it really mean? Is it merely a question of nominal wages? The real wages question is always there. It will always be there so long as labor prosecutes its present methods. Still, light on this question seems to be filtering into some of the leaders' minds. It is not so long ago since Mr. Thomas, M. P., General Secretary of the National Union of Railway Men, at the great conference of representatives of labor and capital held in London said, "The workers have resolutely set their faces toward some order of society which will improve their lives and conditions in accord with the new valuation they have set upon themselves. No longer are they prepared to content themselves with every wage advance being thrust upon the consumer, and consequently canceling every improvement instantly and automatically." Here is an admission from a man of vast experience and great parliamentary influence that the power of trade unionism to solve the fundamental difficulties of labor, by increasing nominal wage, is impotent. On the other hand, trade unionism has become so centralized, so bureaucratic in its organization, that it is now regarded, by many of the young workers, as a vested interest. And it is not to be wondered at that the spirit of revolt appears within the unions when the leaders assume or appear to assume, a Tory-like attitude to economic conditions. A British trade union manifesto called for a strengthening of the hands of responsible leaders in the trade union movement and an agreement to abide by the decision of the majority. It said unless that course was taken a very serious blow would be struck at the fundamental principle of trade unionism—namely, collective bargaining. Under any circumstances, it added, unauthorized strikes could not and must not be tolerated.

The shop stewards movement in Great Britain was begun by men who were avowedly "as bitterly at war with constitutional trade unionism as with the employers." Here, then, we have two striking points to consider: the first is whether trade unions have lost their original place in the industrial system, and are now powerless to gain real benefits in shorter hours and higher nominal wage; the second, whether they as a great centralized body can satisfy the rebellious spirits in the unions as to their sincerity and single-mindedness. In all probability the unions are entering upon a long period of struggle in which the central body will strive to assert its ascendancy and maintain the bureaucracy it has set up, but it is only a matter of time and circumstance when we shall all have to realize that trade unionism in the form it took in the nineteenth century will pass entirely away.

How strange it is that the workers have not learned

from that great experience that the system of trade unionism can never be made into anything but an expedient for dealing with disabilities which do not really arise between labor and capital. It is one of the most astonishing oversights of the historians of trade unionism that capitalism did not produce the economic system which forced men into a congested labor market where wages were borne down to subsistence level. Here is where we may put our finger on the spot from which we have been led astray. A red herring might have been drawn across the path of the sentimentalists who in the first half of the nineteenth century were desirous of improving the condition of labor and reforming the social system. When they began the work of reform they saw conditions in the manufacturing towns and villages of England which were so revolting that they were stunned, and their intelligence never recovered to the extent of studying the causes beyond, which had brought those conditions about. They saw child labor in all its horror, the adult workers sweated and persecuted, when, like a pall hanging heavily over the workers, a system of high protection deepened the widespread distress of the hungry forties. The attention of these historians was riveted upon what they saw and what they felt. How strange that their investigation should have stood as it were stock still at that point, and that they did not consider the question of the effect land enclosure, begun by act of Parliament at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had had upon the people. It is rare to find in the literature on the factory system a single instance of a writer who saw that land enclosure caused depopulation of the countryside and drove the people into the towns and villages seventy years before the steam engine and spinning machines became of much use. And in this country a similar oversight has been committed. Still we have been warned by shrewd observers of economic conditions that these troubles would arise. The late James J. Hill at the conference of Governors in 1908 said: "No people ever felt the want of work or the pinch of poverty for a long time without reaching out violent hands against their political institutions, believing that they might find in a change some relief from their distress. . . . Every nation finds its hour of peril when the land will no longer support the people. Disturbances within are more to be feared than attacks from without. Our government is built upon the assumption of a fairly contented, happy, and prosperous people, ruling their passions, with power to change the institutions when such change is generally desired. It would not be strange if they should in their desire for change attempt to pull down the pillars of their national temple." And Mr. Hill produced a letter from Lord Macaulay written over fifty years ago which deserves serious consideration at this time:

> "As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land your labouring population will be found more at ease than the labouring population of the Old World; but the time will come when wages will be as low and will fluctuate as much with you as they do with us. Then your institutions will be brought to the test. Distress everywhere makes the labourer mutinous and discontented and inclines him to listen with eagerness to agitators who tell him that it is a monstrous iniquity that one man should have a million and another cannot get a full meal. . . . The day will come when the multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose a legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of legislature will be chosen? . . . There will be, I fear, spoliation. The spoliation will increase the distress; the distress will produce fresh spoliation. . . . Either civilization or liberty will perish. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire in the fifth."

The monopolization of land always precedes what is loosely called "a capitalistic system." But monopoly and capital have become seemingly so inextricably mixed during the past generation or so that it is often difficult to get business men to see they are entirely separate factors in production. Where the one ends and the other begins is not easy for the ordinary man to tell. In numbers of the great industrial organizations the two interests are so closely merged that monopoly seems lost in capital. This, however, only appears so, but the appearance of tangible capital and its industrial operations is sufficient to turn the attention of labor away from monopoly, the root of the evils, which it ought to see, and which is the cause of their afflictions. All they see, and all they seem to know, is that capital gets more than interest for the part it performs in production. Labor sees prices soaring against the consumer; it sees "profiteering" and "speculation" careering madly on without "governmental" let or hindrance, while nominal wages buy less and less. And in this utterly false view of the situation labor is encouraged by the preposterous attitude of the Tory press, by the bewildering essays of the professorial sociologist, and the sentimental activities of philanthropists and uplifters. The result is more strikes, more bewilderment, more bitterness. It seems impossible to get the men as a body and the employers as a class to face the economic realities of the situation. They have dodged it until there has been reached a condition of affairs so menacing, so sinister, that government may very soon change its character entirely and appear to be

nothing more than a board of directors concerned mainly in preserving industrial "law and order."

Not until we study the economic history of production will the underlying causes of industrial unrest be understood. We must get out of our minds the absurd notions imparted by the sentimentalists of the reform movements of the nineteenth century that capitalism is wholly responsible for the evils of an economic system which is based on landlordism—the private ownership of the value of the land. When labor understands more about the basis of our existence and what we are working for, and lays less stress upon what we are working at, it will not take long to remove the inequalities which are now obvious in the distribution of wealth between the active factors in production: labor and capital. We all work for food, fuel, clothing and shelter, no matter what we may work at, and if our labor produces insufficient for our physical and spiritual well-being we should turn our attention to the source from which we draw these things and see whether we are free to use it for our needs.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

THE HILLS.

O my Soul, let us go unto our hills,
We were native to them one day, you and I—
Less dwellers of the earth than of the sky
Where the holy sense of silence stays and stills,
Like a hand of benediction lifted high.

We have stayed in this market-place too long;
We have bartered with the birth-right in our breast;
We have shamed us with buffoonery and jest,
Nor raised our eyes to where our hills were strong,
Above this petty region of unrest.

O, my Soul, let us go unto our hills,
To their wonderful, high silence and their might,
Where the old dreams shall whisper us by night
Till the sullen heart within us stirs and thrills,
And wakes to weep and wonder and delight.
O my Soul, let us go unto our hills.

—*Theodosia Garrison.*

PRAYER.

When the last sea is sailed, when the last shallow's charted,
When the last field is reaped, and the last harvest stored,
When the last fire is out and the last guest departed,
Grant the last prayer that I shall pray, be good to me, O Lord.

And let me pass in a night at sea, a night of storm and thunder,
In the loud crying of the wind through sail and rope and spar,
Send me a ninth great peaceful wave to drown and roll me under
To the cold tunny-fish's home where the drowned galleons are.

And in the dim green quiet place far out of sight and hearing,
Grant I may hear at whiles the wash and thresh of the sea-foam
About the fine keen bows of the stately clippers steering
Towards the lone northern star and the fair ports of home.

—*John Masefield.*

THE PULPIT

Our Times and Our Needs

A Sermon by Irving Maurer, preached in the First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio, May 2, 1920

The wrath of man shall praise Thee.—Psalms 76:10.

The meaning of this verse is extremely doubtful. I have chosen it because of the translation offered by the English versions. This rendering appears to mean that the work of the wrath of men is forced to acknowledge the superiority of God's way of dealing with mankind. The wrath of man is so refuted by the divine spirit that in the end man acknowledges the glory of God's victory. By mankind's futility is God praised. It is the praise of one who by bitter experience has found that God's ways are the best.

I would use such a thought as suggesting a survey of the times in which we live. The spring lights which despite the rain and clouds, force their way into our lives, suggest the beauty and the promise of the present world. They help us feel that it is good to be alive today. There is no one who is not glad that, if such times as these had to come, he was permitted to be here to see them, to share in the hardness and the losses and the victories. Whatever we have to say of these times, we who have had them have really lived. We have been face to face with big things. We have tasted all that life has to give, both of joy and of pain. We have seen established values challenged. We have had the stimulating experience of beholding the fixed and the stable shocked and rocked by tumult and overthrow. Since to every man there is given only a brief glimpse into the drama of human existence, what more interesting or absorbing space of time than the present could we have been given, in which to do our work, to live and to share in God's world?

But despite this satisfaction we already discern looming through the chaos of the present times big disconcerting facts. It is becoming possible to ascertain what might be called the facts of the wrath of man. Under that head I would put the earthly and the timely resources to which humanity resorts for the strength with which and the objectives for which to live, for the methods and the principles which are to govern affairs. Under this head I think I have a right to place the following facts by which the times are to be known.

IT IS A TIME OF WEARINESS.

People are looking for a rest. They are tired of hearing the old war songs, tired of seeing the uniform, tired of being told that America helped win the war. They are tired of being reminded of the reasons why America went into the war; indeed, often receive such statements with a lot of skepticism. "Those reasons were all right to win the war by, but of course we didn't mean them," say some. I saw a window of war books at a recent sale the other day. It was a dreary spectacle, about as deserted as are the windows with war relics.

This weariness of heart results in a callousness to the sufferings of the world. Whereas, before the war, the story of the sinking of the Titanic shocked the entire civilized world, today we read about the starving babies of Central Europe or in France, or of the death by the hundreds of children in the Near East

or in Petrograd without a thrill. Occasionally, if we see the face of one of these starving little ones, we arouse ourselves from our lethargy, but, as a rule, we are simply too tired to help.

And we are tired of drives. It took less than two years of war to do it, but the change is momentous. Two years ago there was scarcely a week without hosts of our people giving time and money unstintedly, to identify themselves with a community or national movement. Now the man who ventures to suggest that there are worthy public causes dying for lack of attention, and that a campaign must be inaugurated, will be fortunate if he gets off with his life.

The result is that we are tired of being public-spirited. We have given so much of time and strength to general causes that we believe it is time to be attending to business for awhile. There was a hope that the war would leave us all more public-spirited. It seems today as if it has left us too weary to have any spirit at all. The Victory Park defeat was simply the result of war-weariness: Columbus was too worn out to think through a big thing like that.

And we are tired in mind. We are impatient of any mental process which demands thoroughness. We are in the mood for snap judgments and are asking that everything be made quick and easy. Scholarly methods of ascertaining the facts demand too much time and attention for us to bother with them. As a result we are living on the surface of life. We are studying the movements of human life only on the outside. At a time when momentous decisions wait for our word we are interested in the appearances rather than in the realities of things.

I do not want to start a political argument, but candidly, can we not ascribe the performances in the present Congress to weariness, war-weariness? Has there been any genuine attempt to approach the actual needs of the time? We must not always judge the Congress by the speeches reported, but through those lengthy wastes of words, at a time when a starving, burning world is asking for a way out, you see very little of the light of a genuine alert understanding.

IT IS A TIME OF UNTRUTHFULNESS

We learned during the war-time that war demands lies and deceit as weapons against the common foe. It is a habit which was more easily learned than discarded. The result is being felt in educational circles. The times have shown the failures and also the triumphs of education, but it has also shown the tragedy of false education. And we are learning from the war that it is perfectly possible to create a new world after a certain pattern if you can control education. To teach not the whole truth but only the truth that will help a certain idea of the state, to teach not the scholarly verdict of history but a special interpretation of history, to be alert in equipping the hand and the eye as well as or rather than the mind, leaving humanity technically expert except in the matter of ascertaining universal judgments on the facts—this is the lesson we have learned. So in our public schools the state is going to demand not merely a scientific temper and a genuine mentality, but the application of the facts to teach a certain lesson, which lesson is to be the main thing. Only now and then, from some vigorous defender of a higher idea of education than that do we hear a thunder of protest. We are beholding over all the world a Prussianization of the human mind.

We are witnessing governmental attempts everywhere to drill the people into thinking things in a certain way, and this method does not always proceed along the lines of a genuine love of the truth. We are being permitted to see only what a certain bureau at Washington or at London wishes to see. We are still, two years after fighting stopped, being regaled with inspired articles breathing a spirit of untruthfulness. If some of the stories which are printed in the papers are not lies they show a pathetic inability on the part of the people who wrote them to recognize the truth when they see it—these writers are either liars or fools. And by both we shall soon come to intellectual poverty.

In no better way can one realize the darkness of the times than by trying to depend merely on the daily newspapers for the knowledge of the facts of the world. Try that for a month and see how misled, how deceived you will have been.

This untruthfulness could be forgiven if we felt that only the news gathering agencies were faulty. But it is an untruthfulness which obtains because men in authority do not trust the people. Dwelling in the places of power they dream inordinate dreams of the instability of public institutions. How we can expect a democracy to live in an atmosphere of such mistrust I do not see.

Naturally this untruthfulness leads to a time of untruthfulness. May-day riots seethe in the suspicions of the attorney general, until on the morning of the day itself we are told that the attempted plots will not be carried out. It appears to me to be an insult to the intelligence of the American people, to attempt to scare them by exaggeration. If this were the work of newsmongers it would be easily explained, but to picture ourselves today led by men with such distorted suspicions regarding the stability of our national life is a revelation of the times themselves.

AND IT IS A TIME OF IMPOTENCE, CREATIVE IMPOTENCE.

The religious forces of the word appear to be impotent. The fine interchurch movement has great promise, but unless we furnish proper direction, it may prove to be simply a little more rapid traveling around in the same old circle. One must beware judging the greatness of any church by the amount of money it is able to raise. One must beware ascribing to the present denominational efficiency of the churches any larger command over the lives of men than in the less highly organized days when the coffers were less filled. Here and there we find churches actually in love with the task of rebuilding the world along Christian lines, but with most of us, God forgive us, the power to make Jesus live in the hearts of men, the power to establish His golden rule over the lives of men is not with us! The power to challenge life and show its sins in the light of what life could be, the power to call the sinful hour to account, is not at present the outstanding feature of the church of today.

This impotence is, I think, life's greatest tragedy at this moment. It is revealed in the constructive barrenness of suggested political platforms, all of which apply as the only remedy to the world-unrest, the same impotent police powers, for blind reliance upon which German and Russian autocracy died so short

a time ago. The idea of approaching our common social problem today with the purpose giving everybody a chance to live and to live well, the task of making America a socially happy and just people, the task of building the new world after the fashion of a genuine dependence on the people, where have we heard these burning hopes proclaimed? Today we are cruel to the prophet and tender-hearted to the profiteer.

AND IT IS THE TIME OF A FRUITLESS MODERNISM.

Under this name of modernism many who are utterly selfish are indulging their lives in physical and mental pleasures. It does not sound nearly so nasty to be an adulterer if you call it "realizing your own destiny," or if you state your sin in terms of spiritual affinity. The selfishness of the times is shown in the extravagance which has seized all classes except the most genuinely cultured, extravagance which made a wholesale grocer last week in this city plead with his business competitors to join him in educating the public to buy the good rather than the fancy products. It appears that the denials of the war time, the thrift campaigns and the like are to be atoned by the rush after the things from which we were denied. The modernistic spirit is revealed by a carnality of dress and of recreation, by sexual rottenness in the literature and in the drama of the time. Not for a long time has woman been so physically interpreted or displayed as in this the very hour of her political emancipation. And all this is a fruitless modernism, for though it is stated as a revolt from the hypocrisies of the past it carries on these hypocrisies just the same, while the old, the eternal virtues of chastity and truthfulness and loyalty and service it rejects, with the sins of the discredited past.

O friends, let us remember that these are some of the prices which we are paying for the war. These are some of the things which are even harder to bear than the death of the thousands of noble soldiers. These are spiritual losses that offset the spiritual gains. It is the glory of humanity that you cannot organize him for the settlements of the political affairs of the world by force of arms without changing his spiritual nature, without scarring his soul as well as his body. And let us here resolve that as a result of these losses in the world we shall be able to arrange a better method of reaching conclusions, a method which will accomplish more definite results in a less terrible fashion.

There are times when it is our duty to look the facts in the face. I look at the world which is just recovering from this war and I see a sorrowful picture. I see a well-nigh bankrupt Europe which, both among the allies and in Central Europe, shares in the economic overthrow of a splendid structure, unable because of suspicions and hatred to achieve a continentally integral economic life. I see a far East muttering and malignant, sowing the seeds of a desperate conflict which, if not averted may shatter, if not destroy the world. I see a near East which has not yet begun to approach the solution of the very questions which lay at the bottom of the war itself. I see a Russia achieving a revolution under such opposition from the rest of the world as leaves her resentful and hostile, thus threatening to prevent the peace of Europe. And I see an America, torn by a malignant suspicion of the alien, intolerant, impulsive, unconstructive in her approach to the burning issues of the hour. I see a starving world, I see thousands of families cultured and refined, living in box cars and shunted hither and yon by authorities in Hungary. I see an extravagance in the midst of the high cost of living, self-indulgence in the midst of need. Heart-weariness, intolerance, suspicion, untruthfulness, indifference to legal procedure if the immediate need seems to call for something else, lingering hatreds, economic impotence, this is the world in which the wrath of man has had its chance.

A dark and gloomy picture, and sadly overdrawn you say? Yes, but the truth! There is another side of man. It is the divine side. The times have been beautified by unselfishness, and by helpfulness and cheerfulness and forgiveness. But these are the ways of God. The wrath of man shall yet praise God. There is coming a time when we are going to learn that the world is never to be saved by angers and wrath, by the defences of the flesh. The wrath of man involves a frank denial of the reign or the implications of a loving God. Its noblest aspect is one of justice, but it speedily draws nourishment from inferior sources. In its use of force it allies itself with baser things, with suppression, with mob rule of the mind, with lies, with deceit, with starvation and murder. In the end it succeeds only in the perfecting of material defences, in separating mankind into divisive groups. At last, spent amid its ruins the wrath of man acknowledges its impotence. Then mankind looks up to God, to a God who forgives, who loves erring children, and out of the pathos of the contrast there rise the broken strains of praise, not a praise born out of human victory but a praise born out of human defeat—not the outburst of human self-confidence but an outburst of humanity's need.

The need of the time is a heart-need, a soul-change, a relaxing of the mind from war moods, a new trust in the leadership of a God who is revealed in the teachings of Jesus, a new realization that by love alone can we build an enduring order of human life. "What is the need for the cure of social unrest," a friend of mine asked a man the other day. "Hunger," was his reply. But hunger will not quiet the restless fevers of the times. We are in need again of having our lives touched by the spiritual wonder of humanity. We need new trust in the people, new trust in truth, new loyalty to democratic ways. The sentiment recently expressed in this city, namely, that we are suffering from too much democracy rather than from too little, I do not for a moment believe. We need true education, education of character and life as well as education of the hand or eye. We need to teach men how to think and how can you do that if you are afraid to tell them the truth? We need a new idea of public service. What a shame upon our war spirit to confess today that we are tired of public service.

Was the war, then, simply a mad effort to save our own skins, and was that emergency alone the spur of our better selves? We need faith. Faith for me is the belief that the only way to build a better way is to try the methods of love. That is the only kind of faith I know. That is the only thought of God which works with me. That is what I mean when I say that we need God.

I have not spoken in a hopeless spirit. For out of this world which I have seen I hear a song arising.

Mankind, prostrate and broken, suffering and contrite, is praising God. The wrack of the storm is strewn about us, the skies are still overcast with the clouds, but the wrath of one man is already beginning to sing. Let us thank God for that.

The Why and How of Consumers' Co-operation

Among the twenty-eight old Rochdale weavers who, in 1844, organized consumers' co-operation, there were some idealists. They hoped for as many blessings to come from the new movement as there were ideals in the mind of Robert Owen, their prophet. But what really came to pass was the devising and demonstration of a plan whereby consumers could unite in performing for themselves and in their own interests the function which had been performed by the middleman for private profit. These pioneers in the systematic co-operation of consumers demonstrated that commodities could be distributed by means of a democratic system in which capital became a servant, and merchandizing was carried on without profit or the profiteer. This, by an organization of, for and by the consumers which was capable of removing at a single stroke all the fundamental faults of merchandizing for profit.

Before outlining the simple plan worked out at Rochdale, it may be better to briefly call attention to the evils of the distributive system which burdened the industrial employes of Great Britain in 1844 and burden the consumers of America in 1920.

Perhaps the greatest economic problem before the people at this time is that of how to reduce the excessive cost of transferring commodities from producer to consumer. Of all that American consumers pay over the counter for their supplies, some thirty billion dollars per year, only about one-half—or fifty cents out of the dollar—reaches the producer. This immense tax upon consumers is generally believed to be vastly more than it should be if distribution were carried on even as efficiently as is physical production.

But the consumers' charge against the distributive system is not alone based upon excessive cost of operation, but also upon what modern merchandizing does to the consumer. For instance, the distributor spends a billion dollars a year for advertising to cause consumers to buy what and where they would not otherwise buy and to pay high prices they would not otherwise pay. Perhaps another billion a year is spent for salesmanship to take up the work of persuasion where advertising leaves off. Not only must the consumer pay for this advertising and salesmanship, but he is, through its influence, induced to spend hundreds of millions of dollars, much of which he should not spend. As a spectator sees it, much is done to unnecessarily increase the obstacles and the distance and the cost between producer and consumer. The channel, instead of being direct and downgrade, is circuitous and beset with many obstructions.

The numerous and futile efforts to help the consumer by law and supervision only shows how far we come from correctly diagnosing the case. But if the specific items which go to make the excessive cost of distribution are hard to enumerate, the fundamental cause of these costs is not far to seek. Does it not lie in the fact that we compensate the middleman on the wrong basis, namely, a concealed profit? The net profit which depends upon paying the producer as little as possible and charging the consumer all he will stand acts as a constant incentive to swell the gross profit, namely, the cost of distribution. Thus our system of compensating the dealer constantly tends to increase the cost of transferring goods from producer to consumer. That the incentive of the dealer is against the interests of the consumer is in fact anti-social, is evident from the fact that the dealer will incur all manner of expenses, like excessive service or purely competitive and useless advertising, provided these devices will enable him to tax the consumer to repay the expense and pay a profit thereon.

Competition which has always been depended upon to protect the consumer from the natural results of concealed profit, lamentably fails to do so. Crude and unreliable as a regulator, competition is the direct cause of the most important single item of needless distributive expense, namely such a duplication of stores that every community has several times as many shops as are needed to purvey the goods required by consumers. When there are four stores, where one would suffice the expense of retailing in that community will be about double what one store could perform the service for.

The assumption of the ownership and operation of the distributive machinery by consumers, at once removes all incentive to incur needless expense in distribution and substitutes the most direct incentive to simplify and economize. And it works out that way.

The Rochdale plan, while a great social invention, is very simple. The consumers in a community own their store by simply forming a stock company with small shares which are bought by members. Goods are sold to members for cash at the going prices in the community. At stated intervals accounts are figured up and the surplus above expenses is divided among members, but not as profits are divided in a profit-making company. After providing for a wise reserve, the members receive a dividend on their investment tor shares which is limited to current rates of interest. The balance is paid to members as a dividend upon the amount of their purchases at the store. There are no profits, for what would go to capital as profits is paid back to member customers, so that they get their goods at wholesale cost plus only the percentage expense of handling them. Thus capital is paid only "wages." And capital has no voice in the management of the business for each member has one vote only, no matter how much stock he holds.

Even the workman who gets small wages can finance his share of the store, and he thus acquires a degree of economic independence which is important, for the stores accumulate reserves with which they build bakeries, etc., or through their wholesale societies reach out into production in various parts of the world. Co-operation dignifies economy, induces thrift, replaces antagonism and rivalry with harmony and brotherhood and makes of merchandizing a beneficent function and removes its anti-social tendency and its demoralizing influence.

The movement has grown to include nearly a third of the population of Great Britain in its membership and to extend its benign influence over most of the countries of Europe, especially over poor, distracted Russia.—EMERSON P. HARRIS, *Author of "Co-operation, the Hope of the Consumer."*

The Pilgrim Fathers as Socialists

Lord Leverhulme is one of those British peers who sincerely believe the world could not possibly get along without capital, and, naturally, capitalists; the necessity for capital is the favorite theme of his rather naive speeches in middle-class gatherings. In presenting this point to a meeting of the so-called Christian League of Social Reconstruction, London, recently, he made the following remarkable statement: "Look at the Pilgrim Fathers. They set out with Socialistic ideas. So long as they clung to those ideas, they remained poor, but as soon as they adopted an individualistic system, they began to grow rich and their descendants are now the richest people in the world."

In this passage from the address of the noble Lord Leverhulme we have some very "loose" English,—inexact phrasing, and we wonder whether or not the contention that the Pilgrims were at first economically honest is correct; also whether or not it is true that their descendants are now "the richest people in the world."

If Lord Leverhulme means to say that the Pilgrims fathered the American nation, he is very obviously mistaken, because while the Puritans may have been wholly responsible for New England,—which, by the way, we doubt—it is perfectly plain that they were not responsible for Pennsylvania, Georgia and Louisiana. The Pilgrims may have been guilty of many errors, but they cannot be held to answer for Wall Street; the mysteries of high finance were mercifully unknown to the good people of pioneer Boston.

We think Lord Leverhulme is mistaken a second time when he credits the Pilgrims with being conscientious objectors to capitalism. It is not probable that capitalism had reached a stage of really dangerous development in their day. They were prompted, we believe, by merely an earnest desire to win greater religious liberty; not to any considerable extent by a wish to escape from the clutches of an oppressive economic system. But we would that we could believe Lord Leverhulme's slur justified; we wish that community consciousness had been more strongly a part of Puritan character; we wish the Pilgrims had been communists. In such a case the story of the American nation might be a vastly different story.

That the Pilgrims did adopt an individualistic system,—a system of personal financial salvation,—seems clear. The Pilgrims, not as a class, but rather as individuals merely, grew rich and powerful in New England. Their descendants, or the descendants of a remnant of their kind, are "among the richest people in the world." Such a generality might be applied to any people, class or group with equal fitness.

But material wealth and spiritual wealth are different things. When the Pilgrims ceased to be a community of spiritual strength and became merely a neighborhood group of powerful snobs they passed from the world's sight as a progressive, humanitarian religious force and their cause went down to failure. New England is now the American stronghold of the Roman Catholic Church; there are many Catholics for every Puritan Protestant in that district today. Personal wealth in goods and stores the Pilgrims won; the final victory of the soul's vision they never knew. Brave venturers on a bleak, unfriendly shore, they faced the dangers of a wilderness for Christ's sake; how different they appear when we see their children as the owners of cotton mills, paper factories and munition plants "among the richest people in the world!"

The Pilgrims had a precedent of communistic organization and control; the early Roman Christians were communists, after a fashion. How noble their fellow-feeling seems to us as we look back upon it from this coign of vantage,—the rebel Christians, gathered together in the strength of unselfish brotherhood, not seeking gain one from the other, seeking rather to give than to take! To the degree that Christians have lost that community interest they have failed. They may be rated "among the richest people in the world" in dollars and cents; but they are among the poorest people in the world in love and fellowship.

When shall we be wise enough to want to be poor,—to want to give, to share, to spend? When shall we see how the soul's treasure is God's own likeness in man's heart, and that only love is wealth,—wealth that grows with sharing, increases with giving and perishes never?

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

The Europeanization of the American Press

The government has of late taken a deeper interest than ever before in the Americanization of the foreigner within our gates. The European immigrant, together with the rest of them, has to be made over again and become a thorough American as speedily as possible. This slow and gradual process which has been going on through generations has to be accomplished in one generation according to the present policy of our government. The Americanization of the foreigner is an inevitable, natural and wholesome process absolutely necessary for the stability of our cherished American ideals and institutions. Whether it can be hastened by artificial means is a question which we will not at present try to answer. No matter how that may be, such a process of acceleration is now energetically tried by our government.

But alongside with this Americanization process another less noticeable but just as remarkable and pronounced movement is going on. This movement is mainly manifested in our newspaper press, and is especially conspicuous in the glaring headlines on their front pages and in their leading editorials. Any daily paper taken at random will be found to deal—if not exclusively—at least mainly and principally with matters European and foreign. "The Recent Revolution in Germany," "The War in Russia," "The Turk Driven Out of Europe," "The Rebellion in Ireland," "The Advance of the Japanese in Siberia." Such and the like are the headings that meet the eye on every page, and especially on the front pages, while a comparatively small space is allotted to things American and domestic.

And this is not an ephemeral event. It is a permanent feature of our leading daily press and has been so for the last four or five years. A foreigner traveling in our country will learn much of conditions in his own country and of its policies if he gathers his information from our papers, while he will get a very scanty knowledge of American affairs except so far as they refer to international relations. In fine our newspapers have become so thoroughly Europeanized as to out-Europe Europe itself. This is a fact of which anyone may convince himself simply by watching his

own daily newsbearer. Compare a daily of today with one of six years ago and note the difference. Our papers then were American, they treated on American topics, they advocated American ideas, they took interest in American affairs. Now the latter are almost put in the shade by outlandish gibberish. Then our papers *were* patriotic, now they *write* about patriotism, loyalty, and in such terms as to make readers believe that such things are and always have been unknown among us. Whether this is an improvement of American newspaperdom or the reverse must be left to the decision of our intelligent public. It certainly is not American. It sounds like a joke, but it is nevertheless true that we nowadays may learn more about things American from European papers than from our own, even though the former devote more space to domestic than to foreign affairs. (The writer does not pronounce any *wholesale* condemnation of the interest our newspaper press shows in foreign affairs. This interest has no doubt two sides to it. It might be an indication of the awakening of the "international consciousness" among us. What I criticize is only the unreasonably and uncalled for large space allotted in our papers to foreign affairs, and the prominent place given the same in comparison with that given to domestic affairs.)

Has this Europeanization of the American press yet reached its culmination, and may we soon expect a radical turning of the wheels in the vast machinery of our newspaperdom? No signs seem to indicate such a change of front at present. On the contrary our press is constantly becoming more and more European. Does not this remarkable anomaly offer an almost unlimited reformatory field for the truly patriotic American? And should we not protest in the most effective way against this un-American Europeanization of our newspaper press?

AXEL LUNDEBERG.

Casting Out Fear

"Perfect love casteth out fear." Fear is the age-long curse of the race. Once men lived in a constant state of fear. They were afraid of the beast of the forest. They trembled in the presence of unseen forces. A large portion of their energy was spent in keeping off by magic the forces of evil.

The progress of civilization is the story of man's release from the awful bondage of fear. The scientists and the philosophers have cleared the jungles not only of the earth but also of the air. Man has learned that there are no malignant forces seeking his destruction.

The great word in religion is no longer fear but love. But man still carries within him the capacity of doing that which may result in causing him to fear and to be enslaved by fear.

By his own action he can put himself into bondage. He can bind himself with the results of his own selfishness. He who does injustice fears the result of his action. He who cheats can no longer go his way unafraid.

Love seeks justice. Where there is justice there is order and security. Alsace-Lorraine did not bring security to Germany. Conquered Ireland and exploited India do not make for the stability of the British Empire. We fear the Negro because of three centuries of injustice. Wherever man has withheld love he has been bound by the bonds of fear. His energy has not been used in the upbuilding of civilization but in the protection of himself from the results of his acts of selfishness and greed.

The man who walks the earth unafraid is the one whose life goes out in perfect love toward all men. Without an enemy he escapes the horrid bondage of fear. He seeks justice first and secures his own security of life.

We are members one of another. We cannot escape the results of the injustice done by another. The denial of justice by one man may bring misery and sorrow to thousands. He may scatter the seeds of hate throughout the land and coming generations will suffer.

All fear can only be banished as we make in all the relations of life the law of love supreme. There is no other way. Diplomats and generals, politicians and pseudo-statesmen may erect buffer states, create balances of power and call into existence vast armies of savage peoples, but all to no avail. These means have miserably failed to bring security to mankind and always will fail. They who use them forget in the heat of hate that they create the shackles that bind themselves.

The security of the world can only be established in the justice which is the product of love. It is goodwill that frees men.

Released from the awful bondage of fear caused by "man's inhumanity to man," men can go forward to the world of peace and order and security.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

English Anti-Militarists

Mark H. C. Hayler, the prominent English pacifist who suffered several terms of imprisonment for refusing military service, has been doing reconstruction work under the Friends War Victims Relief Committee in Paris, and has been the recipient of a letter of thanks from the French Government.

Glen H. Hayler, the younger brother, who took a similar stand during the war, suffering imprisonment and deportation, is to be married in London on July 10th to Miss Catherine Green, a lady well-known in Socialist circles.

During the war UNITY drew attention to the case of the Haylers in several articles written on the anti-militarists of England.

Cambridge, Mass. G. B. SMEATHLEY.

Men have certain work to do for their bread, and that is to be done strenuously; others work for their delight, and that is to be done heartily; neither is to be done by halves or shifts, but with a will, and what is not worth that effort is not to be done at all.

—*John Ruskin.*

Put a seal upon your lips and forget what you have done. After you have been kind, after love has stolen forth into the world and done its beautiful work, go back into the shade again and say nothing about it. Love hides even from itself.

—*Henry Drummond.*

Labor is discovered to be the grand conqueror, enriching and building up nations more surely than the proudest battles.

—*William Ellery Channing.*

NEWS FROM EUROPE

French Occupation of Cilicia.

The Armenian Bureau in London has received news from diplomatic quarters to the effect that a conflict between the French military and political authorities in Cilicia is having a disastrous effect on the local conditions in Cilicia.

The French military authorities, headed by General Gouraud, and supported by militarist, Imperialist, and financial interests, are anxious to occupy Cilicia and exploit it to the best advantage of France, regardless of any interests of the native population.

On the other hand, the French political authorities, conscious of the enormous difficulties at home and of the danger on the Rhine, want to confine the French rule to a very narrow strip of the Mediterranean coast, both in Syria and in Cilicia.

The direct result of such conflicting tendencies as reveal themselves in Cilicia have brought about a situation of which the Armenians in Cilicia in particular are the vctims.

The Earthquake in Georgia.

Information has reached the British Foreign Office giving details of the earthquake which wrecked a large area in Georgia (the new State lying between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea) on February 20. This emphasizes the serious plight in which the inhabitants are placed, particularly those in the district of Gori, where 47 villages were laid waste. In many instances over 50 per cent of the houses were destroyed, and in Gori itself 35,000 people are stated to be absolutely without shelter. Over 200 people were killed, and there were nearly 1,000 casualties, while 80 per cent of the cattle were destroyed.

An appeal is being made on behalf of the survivors. The British Government have allotted a sum for the relief fund, and it is hoped by the Georgian representatives and others interested that the matter will be taken up publicly by the British press in order to augment the fund, which is all too inadequate for the gigantic task of relief.

The Living-in System.

Mr. J. Turner, the Secretary of the British National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, is waging war on the British system of living-in. His society is out to abolish the system root and branch. In his indictment of it he says:

The inherent vice of the living-in system, even under the most favorable conditions, has been so abundantly proved both in the Press and on the public platform, that it may appear on first thoughts superfluous to labor the point further. But mere proof of the evil of any social or industrial system does not remove it.

The custom of compulsory living-in prevalent in the drapery and other trades, be the physical conditions under which the shop workers live ever so good, is destructive of that independence in thought and action which go to develop individual character. To have one's life before, during, and after business hours regulated by others in every essential and unessential detail, to work, eat, and sleep according to a time-table drawn up by others, to be barked at by day by shopwalkers, and locked up at night in a sort of pen for greater security—all these destroy the shopworkers' sense of responsibility in personal affairs, and deprive him of initiative in the planning and leading of his own life.

The shop-worker has not the power of choosing where he shall sleep, what he shall eat, how that part of his wages which is deducted for living-in shall be spent, when he shall go to bed, or when he shall get up. He is deprived of the pleasures of home life, and is prevented from gaining the experience necessary in the management of a home of his own. In the case of a woman, this is particularly detrimental, as it makes them unsuitable for housewives owing to their ignorance of the value of money and of the simplest principles of domestic economy. The system enforces celibacy, and, even in those cases where it genuinely attempts to enforce moral living, it fails to inculcate moral principles.

The above objections apply to all cases of living-in, even under the assumption that the shop-worker gets full value in physical comforts for the amount of wage deducted. But, as a matter of fact, the shop-worker rarely does get full value. In most cases conditions are abominable. Overcrowded and filthy rooms, where two, and sometimes three, sleep in a bed, poor food, unhealthy sanitary arrangements, inadequate security against fire—these are the conditions under which most shop-workers under the compulsory living-in system have to live.

There is no privacy and no opportunity for contemplation, reflection, or study. The rooms are not homes, but merely sleeping apartments, and even as such they are inadequate. The public room which serves the purpose of a sitting-room is lacking the accommodation necessary to hold them all in comfort. Often there are not enough chairs to seat them all, if they all wish to remain in after business. In most cases there is no fire during the winter months, and, when there is a fire, only a few are able to get any warmth from it. Everything is cheerless and comfortless, and it is only by some frollicking amongst themselves, which is suppressed by the doorkeeper, if aware of it, that they manage to get any fun out of life.

Forced to celibacy and chastity, not by moral principles or religious vows, but by regulations in which an unnatural emphasis is laid upon sex, the sexual atmosphere is unhealthy in most cases and positively immoral in some. Those employers who defend the system on the grounds of morality are talking mere cant, and are merely trying to hide their self-interest under its guise.

The State of Ireland.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, speaking in the House of Commons, drew attention to the discreditable and perilous state of things in Ireland. The difficulties there had received some aggravation by the declaration of a general strike which he understood was widespread. It would be very desirable in the interests of the masses, both in Great Britain and Ireland, that the Labor party should seize the opportunity of demonstrating what he felt was their practically unanimous condemnation of the present system in Ireland.

Mr. O'Connor went on to deal with the hunger-strike at present going on in Mountjoy prison. He said the majority of the men engaged in it were simply there on suspicion without trial. He did not think there was a civilized country in the world to-day that had not recognized the distinction between the political and the ordinary criminal, and he claimed that these men had a right to the treatment that they demanded. In this connection he quoted from the article published in the *Manchester Guardian* that morning, and made a final appeal to the Government not to commit the folly and crime of allowing these men to die. The sufferings of these men had appealed to the people of Ireland, and moderate Nationalists as well as Sinn Fein opinion was in sympathy with them. If any of the men died the effect on the already inflamed opinion in Ireland would be widespread and deplorable.

Ireland, he declared, was thrown into the hands of Sinn Fein by the death of Thomas Ashe while on hunger-strike in prison, and there was nothing more calculated to excite resentment in Ireland than allowing any of these men to die.

Dealing with the general situation in Ireland Mr. O'Connor said the consequences of the Government's policy was not the diminution but the strengthening of every element that made for disturbance in Ireland. In many parts of the country the British Government had ceased to govern, and Ireland was under another Government which had not ceased to govern. In some parts of the country lawyers had lost all their business because Sinn Fein courts had been set up, whose decisions were accepted by the people. Dublin Castle, with all its militarist rule, had ceased to function. In a country in which the Government had been compelled to abdicate all its functions a system like that stood condemned, and the only verdict that could be passed upon it was that as it had ceased to govern it should cease to exist. Was it not time that they should open their eyes and see that this system only led to greater disorder and disturbance and a more hopeless position? Until this present system was brought to an end there was no hope for Ireland, and in the sense of their world-wide interest there was no hope for England either.

H. S. N.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

DECLARATION MADE BY THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF NEW YORK.

The Community Church of New York, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Rev. Harvey Dee Brown, Rev. John Herman Randall, ministers. The following Declaration was adopted at a special meeting of the Society on May 10, 1920:

By reason of the changes which have taken place in the organization and purpose of our church, there remain certain practical features of our present and future relations to the Unitarian denomination and the new Community Church movement which need to be clearly stated. Therefore we hereby unite in the following declaration:

The Community Church is in origin and legal status a Unitarian Church. It is happy in this fact, for it is from these sources that it draws the freedom which it is now enjoying and utilizing. It has no desire or intention to repudiate this fact or to change that status, for it loves the mother from which it has sprung, is grateful for her solicitous nurture through nearly a century of life, and would express loyalty to the spirit of faith with which she has endowed this and other churches. Furthermore, the Community Church would not enter upon its greater life by banishing any religious body from its fellowship. In recognition of "all the good the past hath had," this church craves and proposes to maintain its present associations with which its new adventures of the spirit are in no way inconsistent.

The Community Church is now recognized as much more than simply a Unitarian Church. It has organized on lines never heretofore deliberately attempted by any other religious body. It has given itself to a new plan of reconstruction of the disintegrating religious world of our time, and has entered upon a new venture in the field of unfolding spiritual life. We owe it to Unitarians at large and to ourselves, to give due recognition to the pioneer and creative spirit of our new cause. We owe it to the hundreds of persons who are joining and are liberally supporting our work, in assurance that we are indeed looking "forward and not back." We owe it to the public, who have accepted our movement as a definite attempt to work out the religious problems of our time, and would see it fulfill itself in freedom.

In accordance with the spirit of the foregoing declarations

I—We grant from the Treasury of the Church by annual appropriation of the Board of Trustees, annual membership dues to the American Unitarian Association and biennial membership dues to the General Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches, each to be not less than one-half of one per cent of our annual gross income; each grant to be augmented by such gifts as individuals may wish to add.

II—We grant from the Treasury of the Church, by appropriation of the Board of Trustees, annual membership dues to the National Conference of Religious Liberals, the Free Religious Association of America, the New York Federation of Churches, and such other inter-church organizations as may represent something of our inclusive spirit of religious fellowship.

III—We encourage the association of any subsidiary society in our church with such inter-church, inter-denominational and social groups at large as are expressive to any degree of its spirit and purpose.

IV—We propose to take the necessary steps to add to the corporate name of the Church, so that it shall read "The Community Church (Second Congregational Unitarian Church) of the City of New York."

V—We propose to place our religious advertising in the most inclusive classification available.

APPEAL FOR STARVING CHILDREN IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

Children in Soviet Russia are actually dying of hunger. This is disclosed in an appeal for aid in which Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, has received from the patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church. The appeal from Moscow is in the handwriting of the patriarch and is addressed to the American people in the name of Russia's religious, educational and charitable institutions. It reads as follows:

"Delegated by the Russian Orthodox Clergy headed by the All-Russian patriarch, by the Hebrew rabbis in Russia, by the Russia Academy of Sciences, by the Academy of Arts, by the All-Russian Union of Actors headed by the State Theatres, by the Russian poets, writers, composers, professors, by one hundred thousand university students and instructors, by the high and elementary schools, by two thousand co-operative establishments, by hospitals, homes, societies, companies, persons and institutions of the most diverse political parties and views, I transmit this appeal:

"Citizens of America! In the northern regions of Russia children are dying of hunger. When children are dying, the future of the nation is dying. We address ourselves to the mind and heart of the American people with the most ardent plea for help to the Russian children with food supplies. We appeal for help to a nation which more than once in the past actively and generously aided the Russian people, and we hope that on this occasion the Americans will also respond to our call."

Upon the receipt of the appeal Miss Addams invited a number of Chicago citizens to form a Committee for the relief of Russian women and children. Bishop Anderson, Prof. R. A. Lovett, Mr. and Mrs. Graham R. Taylor, Miss Amelia Sears, Miss Grace Abbott, Mrs. Esther L. Kohn, Dr. E. A. Steiner, Mrs. Raymond Robbins, Mr. Jas. Mullenbach, William Cunnea, Mrs. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Mrs. George Mathes and others formed an organization called "The American Committee for the Relief of Russian Women and Children."

The committee already has the assurances of the Russian Orthodox Archbishop in this country of his co-operation in its work. Miss Addams yesterday received a letter from the Archbishop reading, in part, as follows: "I am writing you to say that His Grace, the Holy Russian Orthodox Archbishop will be glad to co-operate with your committee for this most deserving cause. If it be agreeable to you and in harmony with your plan, he will order the appeal read in all the Orthodox churches in the United States and Canada.

"We will be glad to serve you in any manner, and we assure you of our heartfelt gratitude that you have undertaken this most noble task which means the salvation of future Russia."

Contributions should be sent to the American Committee for Relief of Russian Women and Children, Room 1318, 19 South La Salle St., Chicago.

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